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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 1476

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MARR, SP
SUBJ: BASE NEGOTIATIONS: COMMENTS OF CHIEF SPANISH
MILITARY NEGOTIATOR

REF: (A) MADRID 1328; (B) MADRID 1419

1. HERE IN SUMMARY FORM ARE MAIN COMMENTS OF MAJOR
GENERAL GUTIERREZ MELLADO, CHIEF MILITARY DELEGATE ON
SPANISH BASE NEGOTIATIONS TEAM, IN FEB 28 CONVERSATION
WITH POLITICAL COUNSELOR;
A. IN NEGOTIATIONS SO FAR US HAS REPEATEDLY
EMPHASIZED WHAT IT CANNOT GIVE TO MEET
SPAIN'S LEGITIMATE NEEDS. SINCE US CANNOT GIVE SECURITY
GUARANTEE, TASK NOW IN NEGOTIATIONS IS TO FIND OUT JUST
WHAT US CAN GIVE AND TO DETERMINE WHAT SPAIN CAN
GIVE FAIRLY IN RETURN. NEXTS SESSION IN WASHINGTON
WILL DEAL WITH SPECIFICS SUCH AS FACILITIES AND QUID.
HE CLAIMED TO BE BAFFLED AS TO SOURCE OF ACOCA'S ARTICLE,
PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO COMMENTS ON POSSIBLE
RELINQUISHMENT OF MORON, WHICH HE NOTED LACKED "VALIDITY".
B. AS SPAIN NOW SEES IT OBJECTIVE IS TO FIND
"POINT OF EQUILIBRIUM JUSTICE" BETWEEN BIG POWER, US, AND
SMALL POWER, SPAIN. ONE WAY OR ANOTHER US MUST MAKE CON-
CESSIONS TO SPAIN THAT WILL ENABLE SPANISH NEGOTIATORS
SUCH AS HIMSELF, TO SHOW PUBLIC OPINION THAT KEY INTERESTS
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OF SPAIN HAVE BEEN TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT BY US. WHILE THERE

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HAS BEEN A GREAT DEAL OF ANTI-US BASES SENTIMENT IN
PRESS, "RESPONSIBLE PUBLIC OPINION" CONTINUES TO FAVOR
DEFENSE COOPERATION AND GOVERNMENT OF SPAIN IS GIVING NO
CONSIDERATION TO TERMINATING IT. BUT IT IS NONETHELESS
IMPREATIVE TO BRING WHAT SPAIN CONCEDES AND WHAT SHE
RECEIVES IN RETURN INTO MORE FAVORABLE BALANCE. US ITSELF
HAS GREAT INTEREST IN REACHING AGREEMENT THAT WILL NOT
LEAVE SPANISH PUBLIC OPINION EMBITTERED, SINCE AGREEMENT
MUST HAV E PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE IF IT IS TO BE EFFECTIVE
OVER LONG HAUL. THERE IS DANGER THAT AGREEMENT COULD
BECOME ENTANGLED WITH CURRENT DOMESTIC POLITICAL UNREST
ACCOMPANYING THE SUCCESSION AND COULD BE GREETED BY
HOSTILE PUBLIC OPINION IF IT MERELY EXTENDS
STATUS QUO. SPANIARDS REMAIN AWARE THAT THEY HAVE
NEVER RECEIVED EXTENSIVE AID FROM US FOR THEIR CON-
TIIBUTION, NEVER HAD MARSHALL PLAN AND HAVE NO
SECURITY GUARANTEE. AT SAME TIME THEY FEEL THEIR
CONTRIBUTION TO WESTERN DEFFENSE IS GREATER THAN MANY
OTHER EUROPEANS, SINCE SPAIN HAS FIVE FREE WORLD BASES
ON ITS SOIL (INCLUDING GIBRALTAR) AND ONE OF ONLY THREE
NUCLEAR SUB BASES OUTSIDE US. FOR ALL THIS SPAIN
RECEIVES LITTLE. WITH THIS PUBLIC AWARENESS TO PREVALENT,
"IMPOSED" SOLUTION IS OUT OF QUESTION. HE STRESSED THAT
HE PERSONALLY WOULD NEVER ACCEPT AGREEMENT THAT FAILED
TO MEET BASIC NEEDS OF SPANISH PEOPLE AND THAT HE WOULD
LOOK ELSEWHERE FOR WORK RATHER THAN ACCEPT "IMPOSED"
SOLUTION.

C. REGARDING MODERNIZATION, SPAIN WILL BE SPENDING
A GREAT DEAL OF MONEY IN ITS MODERNIZATINN PLAN APPROVED
IN 1972. ALL THINGS BEING EQUAL SPAIN WOULD PREFER TO
SPEND THIS MONEY WITH ITS FRIENDS, SUCH AS US, IF US WILL
SHOW THAT IT RECIPROCATES THAT FRIENDSHIP. GOS AWARE
THAT US BARRED FROM HELPING SPAIN MILITARILY BY EXISTING
LEGISLATION AND CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES. SINCE LAWS AND
CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES ARE SUCH OBSTACLE, IT IS UP TO
US TO COME ACROSS WITH SUGGESTIONS AS TO HOW IT CAN
HELP SPAIN MODERNIZE ITS ARMED FORCES.

2. COMMENT: THROUGHOUT GUTIERREZ DISPLAYED
STRONG FEELINGS--ALMOST INDIGNATION--ABOUT SPAIN'S
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UNFULFILLED NEEDS IN DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP UP TO NOW.
AND HIS UNWILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT UNSATISFACOTORY SOLUTION.
WHILE GUTIERREZ RELATIVELY UNFAMILIAR WITH US AFFAIRS
OR WITH RECENT HISTORY OF US-SPANISH DEFENSE COOPERATION,
COMPARED WITH OTHER KEY SPANISH NEGOTIATORS, HE APPEARS
TO HAVE READILY ASSIMILATED THESIS, AS FORMULATED CHIEFLY BY
MAJOR GENERAL CARLOS DOLZ, TO EFFECT THAT HISTORICAL
BALANCE BETWEEN US AND SPANISH CONCESSIONS MUST NOW BE

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BROUGHT INTO EQUILIBRIUM BY EITHER US GIVING OR SPAIN TAKING AWAY. GUTIERREZ DISCUSSED SPANISH PROPOSALS AT FORTHCOMING SESSION ONLY IN GENERAL TERMS, THOUGH HIS REMARKS IMPLIED THAT QUESTION OF TORREJON--BUT NOT MORON--WOULD BE RAISED IN SOME WAY IN WASHINGTON.
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